I. Manjal de Sousa, Tembé-Guaraní from Desterro. Teacher and caretaker at the Evangelical Mission. He collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayapó-Guaraní mother from Desterro.

III. Kayapó-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

/40 cont./

476 477 479 In many societies quite influenced by urbanite cultures, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "unwillingness" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch — or not. — In contrast to the pastilha properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 477 • 465 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has created new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Ishibi of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canoes, small vessels, and other things. The contractor sells the products to tourists, like Vicente, or like Paulo, distributing part of the profit previously in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 579 In the Ishibi pastilhas to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the pastilha, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the pastilha, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "fire," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at less and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 273 All this in the pastilhas of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner of the plantation hired for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby farmsite or village. As for the women, "she only work with the men," they also have pastilhas (among the Ishibi), "but they do not slaughter /fill/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a pastilha properly speaking, but

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sm4 Guarani Sm4



[178] [226] [476] [224] [594] joint with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing: this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

[177] [178] • [463] A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[98] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

[462] Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[178] [286] [439] [438] [462] [463] [178] [463] [462] [323]

[98] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for him for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1912 Ethn Guarani Ethn



not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[m]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[n]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puhirõ* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puhirõ* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãuĩ* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[m] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[n] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãuĩ* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the Indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolicher* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-poors or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guaraní-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.